

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Under Current Topics—Compiled Every Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE NEGRO VOTE.

From the N. Y. Herald.

According to our special advices from Washington a bill will shortly be caused by Congress to enforce the fifteenth amendment in the several States and Territories. The subject was brought up before the Judiciary Committee of the House the other day, when Mr. Bingham argued that the only object sought was to overcome the local laws of the States, so that the negroes could vote, and to enact penalties against all persons conniving to prevent the negroes from voting, in contravention of the fifteenth amendment. This, he said, was accomplished by his bill, and such a bill, he contended, was necessary, because the amendment itself did not carry any punishment with it to persons who might choose to evade or defy it. Judge Davis, of the committee, did not think the bill referred to sufficiently explicit, and so on: from all which we may safely assume that a law will shortly be passed to enforce said amendment.

What, then, will be the effect of this negro vote in the several States in which the negro is wholly or to a great extent excluded from the ballot box is the question we are called to consider. It is estimated that under this new amendment the black vote of the United States will not be less than eight hundred thousand. The bulk of it is in the late slave States. It is strongest in the cotton States, surpassing the white vote in several of them, and is a formidable element in all of them. The anti-Republican forces in those States, Democrats or conservatives as they may be called, will probably win over a large portion of this black element to their side in the interval for their election for the next Congress; but the Northern and Southern border State Democracy have as yet made no signs, except those of continued hostility to "the blasted nigger."

Yet it is possible that the Northern and Southern border State Democracy may lose half a dozen States or more by this foolish policy of hostility to the negro on the old Democratic ground of the Dred Scott decision. According to the census of 1860 the colored population in the States named was as follows:—

Table with 2 columns: State Name and Colored Population. Includes New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri.

We select those States as those in which the negro vote may prove a most important political balance of power should the Democrats concerned persist in their foolish policy of rejecting the blacks as political allies. We will give a few examples. Connecticut is a closely divided State—the Unionist is the popular majority on either side being considered a handsome victory. Now, allowing on the universal male suffrage system, one voter to every six persons, the negro vote in Connecticut will be near fifteen hundred—a vote which, in a close fight, may carry the State. In New York there are, perhaps, now sixty thousand citizens of African descent, or say ten thousand negro voters, which may prove the balance of power. The same may be said, but more emphatically, of the six thousand negro voters who doubtless can now be mustered in New Jersey. The ten thousand negro voters of Pennsylvania may turn the scale in that great State, while, if the Republicans are given the five thousand negro voters of Delaware, they will carry everything in that quarter. So, in Maryland, the thirty thousand negro voters going en masse with the Republicans, as they are likely to go, from present appearances, may revolutionize that State. Even in Kentucky, with her forty thousand Democratic majority, the party will not long be able to hold out in its policy of hostility to the black race against forty thousand black votes.

The sharpest political fight ever made in Indiana was that of October, 1868, when the Republicans won it by less than two thousand majority. There are, we have no doubt, at least three thousand, probably four thousand negro voters in Indiana to-day, and if they are with the Republicans they have the State safe against possible contingencies. We present these considerations of the negro vote in the States especially referred to in view of the importance of this vote in these States in the elections of next October and November for a new Congress, to say nothing of Kentucky in August. Briefly, the negro vote in half a dozen of the otherwise closely contested Northern States may establish the majority in the next House of Representatives.

What, then, is the course which common sense would suggest to the Northern and the Southern border State Democracy. It is the common-sense policy adopted by the old-line Democrats and conservatives of Virginia last summer, whereby they carried the State and secured two United States Senators and a majority in the delegation in the lower house of Congress—the simple policy of cultivating the negro vote. In the cotton States the planters, by combined action in behalf of the negro political element, may readily gain the most of it. In the Northern and the late border slave States the Democracy will find the task of negro conciliation more difficult, but still they may break the force of the colored vote by cultivating it. It is morally certain that if the Democrats as a national party desire to make the re-election of General Grant a comparatively easy matter, they have only to continue in the old Democratic rite of hostility to the Constitution as it is and a demand for the Constitution as it was, including "the almighty nigger." What say the old purblind astrologers of the party? Surely they can't expect to march by persisting in the back track of "the time honored principles of the party," which is as dead as Julius Cæsar.

AN APPEAL TO PENNSYLVANIA.

From the N. Y. World.

We all remember the time when the Democracy of Pennsylvania was an element of vast and concentrated power in our political atmosphere. When it struck, it was with vigor and effect. Its discipline was perfect, its organization thorough and complete. It made Presidents, and whoever had its support was always winner. Of the ten after Washington chosen by the Electoral College, the vote of Pennsylvania was given for less than eight, all Democrats; the other two, Harrison and Taylor, being exceptional. Such was the power of Democratic Pennsylvania down to the disastrous schism of 1860, when the great party which, as we have said, made Presidents was shattered to its centre, and the friends of one candidate generally deserting to the common enemy, the Republican abolitionists, and those of the other placed

by accident in a false position, the gates were opened to the radical Goths, who have ever since made Pennsylvania their especial ground of forage and plunder and outrage. The blow given to Democracy in the Keystone Commonwealth, though severe, was far from fatal; and the signs now that, with an infusion of young blood and the guidance of able leaders, it will resume its old influence.

But there is one difficulty in the way, as to which we take leave to utter some earnest words. We wish what we say to be understood as said by "party men" to "party men." There need be no mincing matters. Plain words are always best. To the leaders, then—such men as Judge Packer and General Cass, and Senators Wallace and Buckalew, and Judge Woodward and Governor Bigler, and Mr. Foster and Mr. Cassidy, and others, who are not disparaged by our not naming them—and to the great Democratic masses who stand by them, is our appeal directed. Its aim is to try to locate the party in Pennsylvania from the false position it occupies on the protection question; for false it is in every sense, and especially false in this—that we do not believe there is an intelligent Democrat from the Delaware to the Ohio, not owning a furnace or a zinc mine, who in his conscience does not believe protection to be a political heresy and an economical evil. This is manifested in the halting, doubtful support which, even under special local influences, the Democratic press, city or rural, gives to legislative measures of this ultra description. There is a feverish languor in their tariff zeal which shows the weakness and hollow nature within. They revolt at being harnessed in the same team with ultra-radicals, who pulling ahead with all their might towards the edge of the precipice down which ultra-radicalism always tumbles. The Patriot and Union, a very able paper, pulls uneasily with the Telegraph, organ of high radical protection, and the Jeffersonian will not pull at all with the Record. In short, there is no heartiness in the help the Democratic press gives to high protection. It knows the whole thing is wrong.

Then, too, in the Legislature and Congress the subject is handled by Democratic Pennsylvanians most gingerly or absolutely rejected. We hear of no high-tariff instructions, or except under radical auspices, of no tariff law meetings. When in Congress, the resolution, such as Mr. Marshall's the other day, reaffirming the ancient Democratic truth upon this subject, was voted upon, more than one leading Democratic avoided voting, and Judge Woodward, the representative, too, of the coal pits of the upper Susquehanna, had the manliness to vote for it; and we are not aware that his conduct has met with any praise within the Democratic ranks. It was very manly, and it was very sensible. We have lately seen in the Tribune a communication of a threatening nature, dated "Columbia, Pa.," purporting to be a protest from tariff Democrats; but we simply note that three out of the seven signers are of one family, grown enormously rich by protection, and that all are residents of an extremely enlightened community, which believes in anti-Masonry to this day, gives 6000 radical majority, was the adopted and congenial home of Mr. Stevens, who owned a furnace, and is represented by Mr. Dickey, who has a mine. Such a protest can have few terrors for a Lutzner, or Columbia, or Clearfield Democrat. As well might Mr. Senator Coleman threaten from his Lebanon palace, or Mr. Cameron give warning from Lochiel.

Nay, further, and taking a less elevated view of the question as affected by considerations of expediency. The roll of Pennsylvanians in the Democratic ranks who have a right to be aspirants for high position in the future has not been finally called. Those, such as the late United States Senator and his predecessor, Mr. Cowan—now, we imagine, Democratic—cannot be content to think that their career is run. Mr. Buckalew has shown he does not by following the example of Mr. Madison, long ago, in going from Congress back to the State Legislature. With aspirations so high and intelligence so bright, they have read too critically the record of their own State and its public men to court the fate of those who promote doctrines they know to be unsound. "Tariffs" never made success to any man. Witness, in Pennsylvania, John Tod and Henry Baldwin, and Andrew Stewart and Richard Rusk—wrecks of huge proportions which ought to be warning to the light-draught craft which now flies the protection bunting. On the other hand, did anti-protectionists of former days mar the prospects of Mr. Walker or Mr. Dallas or Mr. Buchanan—all Pennsylvania Democrats? Was not Mr. Clay a willing victim and Mr. Webster a reluctant one, but, nevertheless, both victims to "high-tariffism"? Do the signs of the coming time, with the great West bursting loose from thralldom, the South rising from ruin, again a purely agricultural community; the East, as ever, ready to make a bargain anywhere, and desert Pennsylvania in a moment—do these signs of the great political revolution of 1872 hold out any temptation to the Democrat of the Middle States to play the masquerade any longer? Do they not show that here, as everywhere, honesty is the best policy, and that it is simply suicide to fight, or even seem to fight for a mischievous dogma any longer?

We are quite aware that this ad hominem view of the matter may be denounced as a low and narrow one. Such oftentimes are those which appeal to the essential impulses of poor humanity, but they are not the less effective on that account. There is not a word we have written which will not be recognized in the inner heart of every honest politician, Democratic or Republican, as truth. That the question of ultra-protection, as affecting the material interests of Pennsylvania, might be discussed from another and higher standpoint, we concede. It would not take much time or labor to show a Pennsylvanian farmer why, when his wheat has fallen and is falling in value, his ploughshare costs him more, as well as his clothing and the necessities of his household, and showing this, to convince him that protection for the benefit of the rich furnace-owner near by is not his interest. All this may be easily shown; and hoping sincerely that our distant counsels may not be thought intrusive, we call on the Democratic press of Pennsylvania and the Democratic party, and the Democratic leaders especially, to do their duty in this respect, and abandoning all shame, social and economical, to raise again the constitutional banner which used to fly triumphant. The Presidential contest of 1872 will, barring accidents which executive incapacity or legislative perversity may bring to naught, turn on this question of high tariff. Currency questions are settling themselves. No party dare imperil itself by assailing the public credit, and all that is left will be the great and momentous conflict between narrow, local, sporadic monopoly and the giant powers of agriculture and commerce. Let Pennsylvania—Democratic Pennsylvania—take her ancient stand with the great majority of the country, to find her political influence re-

stored, and her enormous physical resources, on which we of commercial regions are so dependent, and whose development we watch with so much interest, far better protected, and by a steady and ardent policy, than they ever have been or will be by spasmodic tariffs.

WHERE WILL IT END?

From the N. Y. Sun.

If the appointment of persons to lucrative or honorable positions because they gave money or presents, directly or indirectly, to the appointing power, is a sufficient reason for degrading or expelling from office those who have conferred such appointments and those who have received them, then we may well look ahead to see where this line of proceeding is likely to end. The House of Representatives have thus far applied these principles only to the purchase and sale of cadships in the national academies. Do they imagine that the people will make no other and further application? The House having put the question in motion, do its members suppose that their constituents will rest satisfied with seeing the blade fall only upon the necks of three or four obscure Congressmen? If they do, they are very seriously mistaken.

Congress has set the ball a-going, and they cannot stop it now. Do they believe that well-informed politicians do not know that members of Congress have long been in the habit of selling other places than cadships—that post offices, assessors, collectorships, consularships, and other lucrative positions have been disposed of by Congressmen for money and other valuable things? The practice doubtless reaches, in some instances, still higher than the grade of offices just enumerated, while everybody is aware that it descends much lower. Who does not know, for instance, that it is not a very uncommon practice for the heads of bureaus and minor departments to appoint subordinates on the condition that they will divide their salaries with their superiors?

Do the House of Representatives mean to lay down the broad proposition, that if a Statesman money or other valuable things upon B, and thereupon and in consequence thereof B appoints or procures the appointment of A to office, both A and B ought to be expelled from the place they respectively hold? If the House do not mean this, then why drive from seats in their chamber Whittemore, Goldaday, and Dewees? As we understand the action of the House, they do not accept as mitigating, much less as exculpatory circumstances, the facts that the money in question was raised without the knowledge or solicitation of the member who made or procured the appointment, or was not paid to him directly, or was not pocketed by him as a bribe, but was spent for charitable purposes in his district, or to defray his election expenses; nor do they accept as a valid excuse that the money was raised by friends and was contributed for the member's benefit, in consideration of meritorious services and sacrifices for the cause.

None of these pleas availed Whittemore and his unfortunate colleagues. All that the House required to be proven was that A paid money which was in some way to be beneficial to B, and that B conferred an office upon A in consideration of this payment. That ended the case, and B has had to leave the House of Representatives, and A will doubtless have to quit West Point.

THE MORDAUNT CASE.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

A public not unused to sensations has been so thoroughly nauseated with the details of the Byron scandal that it may well be spared a surfeit of the complicated details of the Mordaunt case. But there is a line of judgment with respect to this wretched affair which is not to be avoided. As in the post-humous fate of Byron, we have the instance of a man of beauty and of genius doomed by several correct women to be the hero in all men's eyes of a chapter of damnation and nothing less, so in that of Lady Mordaunt we see beauty and aristocracy and fashion given over by men to devils. Poetry and beauty in man or woman do not, if these cases have been truthfully told, save their possessors from crime. Crime, on the other hand, does not save society from the contemplation of its duties and responsibilities, especially when committed by poets and belles. The liberalism and interpenetration of so many children of fortune cannot be dismissed with a self-satisfied sneer or a shrug of disgust; for they convey terrible pleas as well as terrible denunciations. They ought to be a warning to all who write nastiness and sell it, and certainly they ought to give us grave thought of that mutual responsibility of the sexes which is at the root of chronic wars and miseries.

We shall not dwell upon the particulars of the Mordaunt affair. Up to the birth of a child, Sir Charles Mordaunt and his wife lived happily till in a fit of remorse, excited by the peculiar troubles of her situation, the lady made reiterated confession that the child was not her husband's, but Lord Cole's; and similarly overpowered by remorse, made the unsolicited declaration to her husband that she had been guilty with three or four other persons, including the Prince of Wales. Afterwards, with the infirmity of a hysterical woman, she endeavored to undo the mischief of her confession, and calculating upon the

alleged goodness of her husband, hoped to have her disgrace and his concealed. This hope failed her in the face of her pronounced confession and her apparent sanity, as testified by numerous witnesses. Only for the period since the birth of the child and the confession consequent thereupon have the witnesses for the lady—and among them a respectable and singularly conscientious number of well-known physicians—made out a clear case of insanity. We think it shown that if Lady Mordaunt was sane at one time she was insane at another, and accordingly are inclined to believe that her British jurors have reached a decent verdict from an indecent case. It is in effect that she is not competent to respond to her husband's suit for divorce.

Lady Mordaunt, however, is not the most distinguished personage whose reputation has stood on trial in this miserable case. The presence on the witness stand of the Prince of Wales, and the production of a number of his letters, have given it a certain interest to many whom its details would utterly shock and repel. The solemn avowal of the Prince that he was not guilty accords with the exonerating given him by the lawyer of Mr. Mordaunt, but it does not relieve him from that blame which must signify attach itself to the conduct of a Prince, and that Prince the son of "Albert the Good," who is diverted from his own good wife by another man's bad one. It has, no doubt, relieved the royal and noble and gentle mind of England to discover that the Prince's letters answer so aptly to the charitable view of Mr. Mordaunt's lawyer. They are perfectly innocuous. Ponies and partridges, woodcocks and stags, sledges and muffs—and why not muffs?—keep from being objectionable in the vacuum of high life in which the available of princes floats his powerful mind. In these clumsy letters there is not one touch of inordinate sensibility, but an endless suggestiveness to those who write novels for the aristocracy. What boundless leisure, what rich parks and pastures, what elegant domestic life, do not ponies, stags, woodcocks and partridges, and muffs, bring to mind, especially when written about by a prince!

Also for romance! Truth is stranger than fiction. The people of the Mordaunt drama may be about as insipid and mean as superfluous life or a superfluous historian of that life could make them; but the tragedy of luxurious living is beyond the power of snobbery to do it. It is not the less terrible because it droves some of its actors as flies are drowned in molasses. The occupation of the novelist of crime is gone. He may preserve for us curious court flies in amber, and present us strange crime with rose-water and rose-color; but the lawyers and the judges, and the wretched men and women of every day make sad work of his boudoir and drawing-room. What is the use of his hinting at secrets of *raison* and murder? Why does he play with the awful game of life and death, the reality of which makes his best efforts so mean? Why does he speak of love and matrimony in such a spongy way, when here is Hymen's torch lighting up the madhouse? Stop writing, man of ink! There is nothing new under the sun. There is no secret which you can impart. There is not a plot or mystery which has not been revealed before judge and jury, and no scandal, no shame, no tragedy of books which has not been familiarly outscandalized and outtraged in this revealing life of the nineteenth century.

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH JOHN CHINAMAN?

From the N. Y. Times.

The "Flowery Kingdom" seems destined to exercise a speedy influence upon the civilization of the world, and especially of America. Exactly how the Mongolian element shall be blended with the Caucasian, and what will be the social and political result, are problems which are attracting much attention, not only in this country, but in Europe. If Chinese labor could be brought hither by legitimate emigration, no trouble would be involved any more than in the case of emigration from European countries. We are thorough believers in the broad American doctrine of extending a welcome to all comers, demanding only in return that they shall as speedily and as completely as possible cast off their natural allegiance, and merge their nationalities in American citizenship.

If the Chinese question could be solved upon this basis it would involve no difficulty; but unfortunately, the importation of Chinese labor has fallen into the hands of jobbers, who seek chiefly their own profit. The dense population of that country has made the lower class very poor, and but few of the laborers are in a pecuniary condition to come away without assistance. Taking advantage of their necessities, cruel and unscrupulous men have organized what is known as the coolie trade, and in many instances kidnapping, and the grossest oppression and fraud have been practiced. The ostensible emigrant very often becomes marketable property; and is publicly bought and sold precisely as slaves were. There is danger that a new social evil, similar in many respects to African slavery, may be introduced into our country by the establishment of a caste degrading to labor.

Political considerations are also involved. The Chinese are brought hither in large numbers, and placed by contract under individual control in masses. They can be used in the concrete politically as well as industrially, and thus be made the innocent instruments of fraud. The question arises whether this danger can be guarded against by legislation. We can hardly say to John that he shall not come to our shores unless he comes on his own account, for we know that he could not come without assistance. If he comes at all, it must be under the auspices of some organized labor association like that recently put in operation by Koopmanshoop, the Hollander.

With our past experience with the negro, there is little danger that his place will be taken by the coolie; but there is danger that John Chinaman will be preferred to the freedman, and that he will be overreached and abused. The experience of some of the English colonies justifies such an apprehension, and shows that there is a tendency in that direction wherever slavery has existed. Notwithstanding stringent regulations have been laid down by the British Government, and special colonial agents appointed for that purpose, it has not been able to prevent the perpetration of very grievous atrocities. Recently the attention of philanthropists has been directed to the subject, and measures have been initiated to secure an international co-operation. The movement originated in London, and contemplates active labor in behalf of the Chinese in Cuba, Demerara, and Jamaica. We doubt not there soon will be a field for the similar work, in a more quiet way, among our own people at the South. Our laws, however, and the popular sentiment, will never permit the evil to grow to so great an extent as it has elsewhere. Still it is a matter to be watched carefully and regulated.

THE CAPTAIN OF THE BOMBAY.

From the N. Y. Sun.

The horrible calamity of the Onaida is enough to sicken a brute. But is any one weak enough to suppose that it will cause the adoption of measures to prevent like tragedies—we cannot say accidents—in future? Further particulars will fix the blame where it rightfully belongs. Meanwhile can we wholly exculpate the public men of maritime nations, whose duty it has been ever since the introduction of steam into navigation, to enact and strictly enforce proper laws to protect life on the ocean? Three-fourths of the globe is international domain, yet there is no international law to govern it. How easily could such a code be established! National interests, for once, instead of conflicting, would be identical; and the number of the contracting parties would bring an increase of experience and intelligence to aid in enforcing nautical common sense and common conscience into explicit statutes, backed by severe and inevitable penalties.

The first clause of such an enactment should declare the precipitate abandonment of one colliding vessel by the other to be piracy, and its punishment death by hanging. There is no radical distinction between the captain who kills seafarers for positive gain and him who kills them in order to avoid the loss of money or reputation in which the identification of his ship and consequent legal investigation might result. We speak from knowledge when we say that the sea swarms with such pirates, and also from knowledge when we say that probably the United States furnishes an unduly large proportion of them. The practice of abandonment is by many considered "smart," and we know what that means.

We must not judge conclusively of the captain of the Bombay before his side of the story reaches us. It has been asserted that whether he heard the hailing and the five great guns, or heard them not, has no bearing on the case. It is sufficient that his ship struck another hard enough to let starlight through her, and that he stood on his course without knowing whether she needed help. Yet let us not grow warm over this single affair. The practice is common at sea; there is no adequate law to prevent it; and politicians are, in all countries, too busy with private schemes to unite upon such a law as is necessary for the general safety.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

SHATTERED CONSTITUTIONS RESTORED BY HELMBOLD'S EXTRACT BUCHU. 1 25

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